Converbs in a Kohistani Shina Narrative

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1. Introduction

This paper is an attempt to identify the structure and functions of verbal adverbs in the dialect of Shina spoken in Indus Kohistan. There are two types of such participles: conjunctive participles and adverbial participles, which have a wide range of functions and are exploited flexibly in narration.

Shina belongs to the Dardic branch of Indo-Aryan languages (Morgenstierne 1961), and is spoken in the Gilgit and Kohistan Districts of Pakistan, as well as the Kishanganga and Dras River systems of Indian Kashmir, and parts of Ladakh. Indus Kohistan is the southwesternmost extent of the Shina-speaking zone, and is bounded on the west by Pashto and on the south and east by dialects of Panjabi. Until the last few decades it has been an unwritten language. The data presented here is taken from a long (108-page) text of a folk tale,[1] "The Button-Prince" about a Kohistani princess who magically acquires a young child of fairy origin, which has been bewitched by its mother's enemies. In the course of the story, the child magically changes form several times, from a snake to a button, from the button to a human child, from a young man to a ram, then back to a snake again. The fiance of the princess believes that she has had an illegitimate child, and rejects her. The princess raises the child alone, teaching him princely skills, and later marries him. When the two strike out on their own in the world, an evil old woman turns the prince into a ram. Disguising herself as a man, and with only her wits to help her, the princess outwits a king and a scheming minister, finds the old woman and forces her to restore the prince to human form. The

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1. Folktale collected 14th June, 2000 by Muhammad Manzar Zarin from Rupi Jan in Rawalpindi, Pakistan.

prince now also marries the daughters of the king and the minister, but the minister's daughter offends the prince, who reacts by returning to his original snake-form and vanishing into a hole in the wall.

By the device of giving alms to travellers for telling them her their stories, the princess traces the army of snake-fairies, and persuades the queen of the fairies to accept her as a daughter-in-law. But escaping from the snake-fairy army is not so easy, and the princess has to throw obstacles in their way: a comb which becomes a forest, soap which becomes sheer precipices, and so on. As the narrator describes the frantic flight from the snake-army she piles up converbs to create breathlessly long sentences and an atmosphere of taut suspense.

Of course, Shina converbs are not merely literary devices. They are ubiquitous in discourse, describing sequential or concomitant actions and the manner or means of actions. They are often used where conjunctions would be used in other languages.

The theoretical framework for the following analysis is the seminal work on converbs by Haspelmath and König (1995).

2. Shina Verb Structure

Before I go on to give examples of converb use, I briefly list the parts of a Shina verb, illustrated with the verb *doón* 'to give'. I begin with the nonfinite parts, from which some finite forms have been elaborated.

2.1. Nonfinite forms

Infinitive
Infinitives are used as verbal nouns and take nominal inflections: *d-oón*.

Conjunctive participle
Conjunctive participles have a range of functions, of which the most common are the expression of sequential and concomitant actions. They do not show agreement with the subject: (*mõ̃*) *d-eé* '(I) giving, having given', (*saṇáa*) *d-eé* '(they) giving, having given'. A variant form of the conjunctive participle suffix is *-ií*, which seems to be a lexical feature, but may not always have been so, because the great majority of intransitive verbs form conjunctive participles in *-ií*, whereas causative verbs always form conjunctive participles in *-eé*. There may also be a morphophonemic determinant: those transitive verbs which do form conjunctive participles in *-ií* have stems or alternate stems ending in *-y-*: *wiy-* 'put', *raz-* ~ *rajy-* 'say', *har-* ~ *hary-* 'take', *paš-* ~ *pašy-* 'see'.

Adverbial participle of manner
These show an action simultaneous with the action of the main clause, which modifies the main clause verb: *d-yúu* 'giving'. The invariant suffix *-yúu* is formally identical with the ablative suffix *-yúu* which is added to adverbs (*sadí* 'there' + *-yúu* = *sadyúu* 'from there'); but as the adverbial participle cannot be interpreted ablatively, we are unable to analyze these as a single suffix.

(1) *yaaz-yúu áa-l-o*
     walk-AP come-PERF-3m.sg.
     (He) came walking (on foot).

Imperfective participle: d-óonda. This form seems to be derived from the infinitive. It is used adverbially, but may take nominal suffixes. Its occurrence in texts is infrequent, with only one example in the corpus: *bojoónda-ṛ* 'while going, as he went' (with a dative suffix); and I make no attempt to analyze it.

2.2. Finite forms
Imperative
These are derived from the verb root: *d-a* 'give (sg.)', *d-yáa* 'give (pl.)'.

Injunctive
This form seems to be derived from the infinitive, and has only an invariant third person form: *d-óonṭha* '(he/she) should give'.

Aorist
Person-number suffixes are added to the verb root to form the aorist:[2] *mos d-am* 'I may give'. In Kohistani Shina, it is used as a subjunctive. It also serves as the stem for the imperfective tenses (present and imperfect) of most verbs.

Future
Person-number suffixes are added to the future stem to form the future: *mos d-óo-s* 'I will give'. No other dialect of Shina shares this future tense, and Schmidt (2001) suggests that the future stem is derived from the infinitive.

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2. The term "aorist" refers to a verb form which states a fact, but does not necessarily express an idea of time.

Past tense

Transitive verbs: comparative data from several Shina dialects shows that the past stem of transitive verbs is derived from the conjunctive participle, although this cannot be seen in every Kohistani past form: *mõ dáas* 'I gave', *senáa deéga* 'they gave'. The past tense of 'go' (stem *g- ~ gy-*) has been grammaticalized and provides part of the modern valency marker (*-eég-*) plus the person-number-gender suffixes.

Intransitive verbs: the past stem of intransitive verbs is derived from an old perfective participle plus person-number suffixes: *mõ yáat-o-s* 'I (m.) walked', *mõ yáat-yi-s* 'I (f.) walked'. These old participles are typically Indo-Aryan and inflect like adjectives, but are now found only in proverbs.

The past tense supplies the stem of perfective tenses: the present perfect and past perfect.

2.3. Case of the subject

Subjects (agents or actors) of transitive verbs take agent cases. There are different agent cases for imperfective and perfective tenses. The object of the verb is unmarked. Nevertheless I hesitate to call Shina typologically ergative, because the verb always agrees with the subject, not the object.

(2) *sé-s-i yeṇó-ṛ xoráak d-áa-w*
     he-AGP-3m.sg. them-DAT food (f.) give-PERF-3m.sg.
     He gave them food.

2.4. Basic word order

The basic word order of a Shina sentence is SUBJECT–OBJECT–VERB.

3. Formal properties of Shina converbs

Examples (3a) – (17) treat Shina conjunctive participles, which turn out to be converbs by all of of Haspelmath's criteria. Adverbial participles of manner behave like conjunctive participles in respect to the first three criteria, but have more specialized functions, as will be seen in due course.

3.1. Nonfiniteness

Haspelmath (1995: 3-4)[3] defines a converb as "a nonfinite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination. Another way of putting it is that converbs are verbal adverbs, just like participles are verbal adjectives". It is "part of the inflectional paradigm of verbs". The criterion of nonfiniteness does not however always give clear results, because the finite/nonfinite distinction is not a neat binary division, but extreme points on a scale of *desententialization* (Haspelmath 1995: 7).

Shina conjunctive participles show no tense or mood specifications, and do not have agreement suffixes. The tense and mood of the conjunctive participle are inferred from those of the main verb and the context of the sentence. However the verb 'go', which has an imperfective stem *boj-*, and a perfective stem *g- ~ gy-*, forms two conjunctive participles: *boj-ií* 'going', and *gy-eé* 'having gone'. It is thus marked for aspect, as are finite verbs.

3.2. Subordination

For Haspelmath, the most reliable definitional criterion of a converb is the inherent subordinateness of the converb construction (Haspelmath 1995: 8, 12). Shina conjunctive participles occur in sentences which have finite main verbs, and meet all five of Haspelmath's criteria for subordination, as shown in examples (3) – (8b).

3.2.1. Clause-internal word order

If the subject of the main verb is expressed, the clause with the conjunctive participle usually occurs inside the main clause, which becomes *discontinuous* (Haspelmath 1995: 12-13). In example (3a) the subject is in the agent-perfective case, required by the perfective transitive main verb *rajeégi* 'she said'; and the adjacent conjunctive participle, *gyeé* 'having gone' is intransitive; thus the main clause is discontinuous. Example (3b) demonstrates that the main verb, not the conjunctive participle, determines the case of the subject.

(3a) *yé-s-oo gy-eé dár-i pakhr-eé raj-eég-i...*
      she-AGP-f.sg. go-PERF-CP door-pl. secure-CP say-PERF-3f.sg.
      She, having gone, having secured the doors, said...

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3   "The converb as a cross-linguistically valid category," in Haspelmath and König 1995, pp. 1-55.

(3b) *se dár-i pakhr-eé gy-e-y*

     she-NOM door-pl. secure-CP go-PERF-3f.sg.

     Having secured the doors, she left.

3.2.2. Variable position of the subordinate clause

Clauses with conjunctive participles normally precede main clauses, but may come after the main verb to show emphasis (4a). They have *variable position* (Haspelmath 1995: 13-14). The normal word order is shown in (4b).

(4a) *heryáan b-íl-o ye so judroó wáari çak-eé*

     surprised become-PERF-3m.sg. he that snake toward look-at-CP

     He was surprised, looking at that snake.

(4b) *ye so judroó wáari çak-eé heryáan b-íl-o*

     he that snake toward look-at-CP surprised become-PERF-3m.sg.

     Looking at that snake, he was surprised.

3.2.3. Co-referentiality

The subjects of Shina conjunctive participles are normally *co-referent* with the subjects of main verbs (Haspelmath 1995: 14-15, "backwards pronominal anaphora and control"). If the subject is a pronoun, it is often deleted, as it is redundantly marked by verbal suffixes. In (5), the subject is in the nominative case, agreeing with the intransitive main verb *ém* 'let me come'. The person who leaves the pots is the same person who will come back.

(5) *mõ aáy boṇ-í phat-eé é-m*

     I-NOM these pot-pl. leave-CP come-AO-1sg.

     Let me leave these pots and come (back).

The corpus does contain three examples of conjunctive participle subjects which are not co-referent with the main verb subjects. In (6), the king's men (SUBJECT 1) go to get a black ram from an old woman (SUBJECT 2) who refuses to give it to them. However the perfective *gyeé* 'having gone' in the subordinate clause followed by the present tense finite verb *na díini* 'does not give' in the main clause suggests that the main clause may be a direct quote. According to Haspelmath (1995: 30-32), the subject may be pragmatically inferred in such cases.

(6) *ye gy-eé to buḍíi-s na díi-n-i*

they go-PERF-CP TOP old-woman-AGI not give-IMPF-3f.sg.

When they went, the old woman isn't giving (it).

(When they went there, [they reported:] "the old woman won't give it to us")

3.2.4. Restrictiveness and focusability

A clause with a conjunctive participle may modify the main clause in such a way that its *reference is narrowed* (Haspelmath 1995: 15-16).

(7) *ek phat-eé dáay húkam-i th-a*

one leave-CP ten order-pl. do-IMP

Not to speak of one, issue ten orders (if you wish).

3.2.5. Possibility of extraction

The conjunctive participial clause may be *extracted* and reformed as a grammatically correct question (Haspelmath 1995: 16-17).

(8a) *(se) phúṛ-a h-áa khy-eé by-áan-i*

(she-NOM) flower-pl. like-pl. eat-CP live-IMPF-3f.sg.

She lives on (by eating) popcorn [which looks like flowers].

(8b) *se jo khy-eé by-áan-i*

she-NOM what eat-CP live-IMPF-3f.sg.

What does she she live on (eat to live)?

4. Semantic functions of Shina converbs

In this section I examine conjunctive and adverbial participles in the corpus, list their functions in the order which emerges most naturally, then attempt to classify them. In this effort, König's chapter in Haspelmath and König (1995),[4] and Fosse's forthcoming paper on Sanskrit absolutives have been of help. In addition to linguistic analysis I also use some techniques of literary analysis.

4.1. Conjunctive participles

Shina conjunctive participles ending in *-eé* and *-ií* express sequential and concomitant actions, thus they have a temporal relation to the main verb.

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4   "The meaning of converb constructions," in Haspelmath and König 1995, pp. 57-95.

This may be called (adapting Fosse's distinction) their *explicit* function.[5] In some constructions they may also have a modal relation to the main verb; this is a secondary or *implicit* function.

Temporal relations fall into two categories: sequential actions or events, and simultaneous actions or events.

4.1.1. Sequential actions

In Kohistani Shina, sequential actions are nearly always expressed with conjunctive participles (9). A chain of actions is also expressed this way (10). The conjunction 'and' does exist but is little used.

(9) *salám d-eé borqá phal th-eég-i*
    greeting do-CP veil throw do-PERF-3f.sg.
    (She) greeted (him) and cast aside (her) veil.

(10) *to baṭháari th-a-m th-eé akóoṛ ṭoplóo th-eé ...*
    TOP bedroll do-AO-1sg. do-CP VOL bundle do-CP
    I think I'll spread (it) out, make a bundle ...

    ... péra har-ií, ciyé-ṛ phal th-óo-s
        yonder take-CP wife-DAT throw do-FUT-1m.sg.
    ... carry it yonder, and throw it at (my) wife.

An exception to this rule is found in the corpus, when the man who has seen the snake-army tells his story to the princess. Here the narrator makes minimal use of conjunctive participles, developing the story in short, choppy sentences which convey brilliantly the mindset of an unimaginative country bumpkin.

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5   Fosse (forthcoming) distinguishes between Sanskrit action nouns and Sanskrit absolutes on the basis of their explicit and implicit functions:

    "Action nouns function as alternatives to AbsCs [absolute clauses] when the logical connection between the main verb and the verbal adjunct is important, or when such a construction is metrically convenient. Action nouns express causal, modal or instrumental relations *explicitly* whereas absolutes only express these relations *implicitly*. A similar contrast obtains between action nouns and active present participles having adverbial content in addition to their expression of contemporaneity."

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4.1.2. Simultaneous actions

Conjunctive participles may describe two simultaneous actions, or the state of the subject during an action. The relationship to the main verb may be primarily temporal (11), or shade into a modal relation.

Functioning as modifiers, conjunctive participles may modify the main verb, as manner adverbials (12), or the subject, predicatively (13).

(11) *so šazadgíi bal-ée hágwíi py-eé huç-aṛ níkha-za-as-i*

that princess child-POS finger(s) hold-CP outside-DAT come-IMPF-was-f.sg.

The princess was coming outside holding the child by the finger(s).

(12) *ye cup b-eé beé-ṭ-i*

she-NOM silent be-CP sit-PERF-3f.sg.

She sat there silently.

(13) *se ruleé b-eé boj-á-an-i*

she-NOM disguise be-CP go-IMPF-is-3f.sg

She goes (there) disguised.

4.1.3. Specialized relations

Modal relations may be elaborated into highly specialized ones, in which conjunctive participles occur in frozen phrases, take a special suffix, or occur with only one lexical item. These include:

(a) the means of an action (8a);
(b) conjunction (14-15);
(c) cause (16);
(d) the quotative (10, 17).

4.1.3.1. Instrumental adverbial

A conjunctive participle functioning as an instrumental adverbial must be distinguished from a noun used as an instrument, as for example in *achóo-gi* 'with the eyes' (*achóo* 'eyes [obl. pl.] plus the instrumental postposition -*gi*).

In (8a) the conjunctive participial clause *phúṛa háa khyeé* 'by eating popcorn' shows the means of subsistence.

(8a) *(se) phúṛ-a h-áa khy-eé by-áan-i*

(she-NOM) flower-pl. like-pl. eat-CP live-IMPF-3f.sg.

She lives *by eating* popcorn.

4.1.3.2. Conjunction

Expressing conjunction, conjunctive participles occur in a construction with an adverb, an uninflected nominal, or the suffix -*š* 'until, up to, by the time (that)'.

(14) *sad-yúu gy-eé sé-s-aṛ lamary-oón siçh-y-eég-i*

there-ABL go-PERF-CP he-OB-DAT wrestle-INF learn-CAUS-PERF-3f.sg.

Moreover (*sadyúu gyeé*, 'going from there') she taught him to wrestle.

(15) *baṭ phir-ií a-eé-š* ...

stone turn-CP come-CP-until

By the time the stone falls back (to earth)...

4.1.3.3. Cause

Cause is expressed with the conjunctive participle of *dijoón* 'to befall' (16).

(16) *aáy balé-ji dij-ií thoé puç-ée nikáa-je chí-d-yees*

this child-AbSp befall-CP your son-POS marriage-AbSp break-PERF-1f.sg

Because of (*dijií*, having befallen) this child, I called off marriage to your son.

4.1.3.4. Quotative

The conjunctive participle of *thoón* 'to do, to say', functions as the quotative, marking both reported speech and reported thought. It occurs in (10):

(10) ... *baṭháari th-a-m th-eé* ...

TOP bedroll do-AO-1sg. do-CP

I think I'll spread (it) out ...

(17) «*sas th-áa-s-un*» *theé*

sister say-PERF-1m.sg.-is-1m.sg. say-CP

I have called you "sister".

(You will be like a sister to me.)

4.2. Negation of conjunctive participles

The text does not contain any examples of negated converbs, but examples can be elicited of negated conjunctive participles describing sequential or simultaneous actions.

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I have called you "sister".
(You will be like a sister to me.)

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Sequential actions

(3b) *se dár-i pakhr-eé gy-e-y*

  she-NOM door-pl. secure-CP go-PERF-3f.sg.

  Having secured the doors, she left.

  → *se dár-i na pakhr-eé gy-e-y*

    she-NOM door-pl. not secure-CP go-PERF-3f.sg.

    Without securing the doors, she left.

(9) *salám d-eé borqá phal th-eég-i*

  greeting do-CP veil throw do-PERF-3f.sg.

  (She) greeted (him) and cast aside (her) veil.

  → *salám na d-eé borqá phal th-eég-i*

    greeting not do-CP veil throw do-PERF-3f.sg.

    Without greeting (him), she cast aside (her) veil.

Simultaneous action

(12) *ye cup b-eé beé-ṭ-i*

  she-NOM silent be-CP sit-PERF-3f.sg.

  She sat there silently.

  → *ye cup na b-eé beé-ṭ-i*

    she-NOM silent not be-CP sit-PERF-3f.sg.

    She did not sit there silently.

(13) *se ruleé b-eé boj-á-an-i*

  she-NOM disguise be-CP go-IMPF-is-3f.sg

  She goes (there) disguised.

  → *se ruleé na b-eé boj-á-an-i*

    she-NOM disguise not be-CP go-IMPF-is-3f.sg

    She goes (there) undisguised.

4.3. Adverbial participles

According to König (1995: 65-6), sentences describing two aspects of a single event show a relationship of *manner*, whereas the term *modal* should be reserved for sentences describing two independent events which happen to be concomitant (König's "attendant circumstances").

Adverbial participles ending in -*yúu* express both manner and concomitant actions. In (1), *yaazyúu* 'walking' is not merely concomitant with the motion of coming, it is one possible manner, or parameter, of coming. In (18), *hat thyúu* 'hurrying' is a possible manner of going.

(1)   *yaaz-yúu áa-l-o*
      walk-AP come-PERF-3m.sg.
      He came *walking* (on foot).

(18) *hat th-yúu, hat th-yúu, baacháa-di gy-a-w*
      hurry do-AP, hurry do-AP, king-ADD go-PERF-3m.sg.
      In a great hurry, he went to the king.

However in (19), *capyúu* 'biting', is not a manner of jumping. The snake army is jumping and concomitantly biting trees to fell them. The repetition of the verb expresses the durative.

(19) *yeṇáa cap-yúu al d-yúu ...*
      they-NOM bite-AP jump give-AP
      Biting, jumping ...

      ... ek múṭh-eji múṭho-muṭhá-ṛ al d-a-n, cap-á-n
          one tree-AbSp tree-tree-DAT jump give-AO-3pl. bite-AO-3pl.
      ... they jump from one tree to the next (and) bite [them].

Relations of manner may shade into relations of means. In (20), *jikiliyúu* 'pulling', is one way of bringing the ram, but it is also the *means* of bringing it. In (21), *dadaliyúu* 'dragging' is both the manner and the means of bringing the old woman.

(20) *karaá piy-eé jikil-iyúu aṭ-eég-aan*
      ram catch-CP pull-AP bring-PERF-3pl.
      They caught the ram and brought it (by) pulling it.

(21) *buḍíi-ga aṭ-eég-a patn-yúu daḍal-iyúu ...*
      old-woman-also bring-PERF-3pl. behind-ABL drag-AP
      They brought the old woman too, dragging her behind ...

      ... minát th-iyúu íi-n-i
          entreaty do-AP come-IMPF-3f.sg.
      ... (she) came begging (for mercy).

The old woman's begging for mercy (*minát thiyúu*), however, is only a concomitant event. Note that *capyúu al dyúu*, 'biting jumping' in (19) expresses a temporal relation: a repeated sequence of actions, since it is hardly possible to bite and jump at the same time.

Note also that in (20) a conjunctive participle and an adverbial participle are combined to show both a sequence of actions and the manner of the second action.

König (1995: 58, following Nedjalkov 1995),[6] distinguishes three main types of converbs: (a) *specialized converbs* associated with only one or two circumstantial (adverbial) interpretations regardless of the context; (b) contextual converbs, which may have a wide variety of circumstantial interpretations depending on cotext and context, and (c) narrative converbs, which merely express a coordinative connection, typically between more than two events.

Applying this classification to Shina converbs would blur the formal and semantic differences between Shina conjunctive participles, which primarily express temporal relations, but may be elaborated to show contextual relations; and Shina adverbial participles, which primarily express contextual relations, but which can be exploited in narrative to show temporal relations (the durative, or a series of fast-paced actions). Furthermore, the specialized functions of cause, conjunction and the quotative are mapped not onto the more specialized adverbial participles, but on to the more generalized conjunctive participles.

For Shina I propose the following classification:

(a) *temporal converbs*, expressing temporal relations, capable of elaboration to modal and specialized relations;

(b) *modal converbs,* expressing manner and concomitant circumstances, capable of elaboration to certain temporal relations.

In the following section I present some of the devices which are used in narration to express dimensions of *aksjonsart* which are not mapped on to finite verbs.

5. The semantics of repetition of converbs and lengthening of vowels
5.1. Repeated conjunctive participles
Repeated conjunctive participles show repeated or continued actions (22). If the verb is a stative verb, they show long duration (22), (23).

6   'Some typological parameters of converbs' in Haspelmath and König 1995, pp. 441-463.

(22) *šazdá gy-eé gy-eé, gy-eé gy-eé*
prince go-PERF-CP go-PERF-CP (repeated)
The prince would repeatedly go away,

noš-ií noš-ií, noš-ií noš-ií, kháãẽ wax de íi-n-o
disappear-CP disappear-CP (repeated) which time in come-IMPF-3m.sg.
disappear for ages, and turn up without warning (any time).

(23) *by-eé by-eé kacáa ráati gy-éyn-i*
sit-CP sit-CP how-much night go-IMPF-3f.sg.
Most of the night passed while she stayed there.

5.2. Repeated adverbial participles

Repeated adverbial participles show a series of repeated or continued actions that culminate in the main verb (24), (25). They are used as a stylistic device in narrating fast-paced action.

(24) *uc̣-yúu, uc̣-yúu, uc̣-yúu kaáth ye nikhá-t-a?*
run-AP run-AP run-AP how they-NOM come-out-PERF-3pl.
Running without cease, they barely managed to come out.

(25) *mút-o khóṇá-ṛ al d-yúu, al d-yúu, al d-yúu,*
other-m. mountain-DAT jump give-AP jump give-AP jump give-AP
jumping without cease (from one) mountain to another,

... óra chúpee khoṇ ḍe a-eé-š ghaṇ úmar gy-a-w
this-side edge-POS mountain in come-CP-up-to much period go-PERF-3m.sg.
... by the time they crossed the mountain(s), a long time (had) passed.

5.3. Duration expressed by vowel lengthening

When the vowel of a conjunctive participle is lengthened, it shows long duration.

(26) *atát-o baṛ-o qaláa ce ášpoo gy-eeeeé ...*
such-m. big-m- fort that horse go-PERF-CP
such a large fort that a horse has to go a long ways

... phir-ií asá záay de cokí-in-i
turn-CP that place in standing-is-f.sg.
... before it comes back to where it started.

5.4. Old imperfect participles

Old imperfect participles are sometimes repeated to show multiplicity. In (27), *sána* is a frozen imperfective participle of *sanoón* 'to make', which analysis shows is the stem of some present forms, but no longer productive as a participle.

(27)   *hadé-ji bháar xwarká sána sána, sána sána, sána sána çeṇá-ain-i*
       limit-AbSp beyond foods making making (repeated twice) sending-IMPF-3f.sg.
       Making endless dishes, to excess, she sends [them to the guests].

These examples give an idea of the repertoire of Shina converbs available to the skilled narrator, and of the ways in which special effects may be achieved by combining conjunctive participles and adverbial participles, of repeating converbs, and of lengthening the vowel of the conjunctive participle suffix.

I conclude by saying that since converbs are in many ways more available than finite verbs for flexible use and innovation, they tend to resist analysis into rigid syntactic and semantic categories. One must keep in mind pragmatic inferential considerations while analyzing their structure and meaning.

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	IMPF	imperfective stem
AbSp	ablative-superessive	m.	masculine
ADD	addessive	NOM	nominative
AGI	agent-imperfective	OB	oblique
AO	aorist	obl.	oblique
AGP	agent-perfective	PERF	perfective stem
DAT	dative	POS	possessive
f.	feminine	pl.	plural
FUT	future	sg.	singular
		TOP	topicalizer

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